Bevan's Bid for Power—*Andrew Roth*

THE *Nation*

March 15, 1952

Machine-Gun Politics

Chicago's Bipartisan Corruption

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

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Studies in Sex—a Debate

ALBERT ELLIS AND DONALD WEBSTER CORY

VS.

MILTON R. SAPIRSTEIN

*

Communism in the Public Schools

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Metamorphosis of a Newspaper

Denver, Colorado

WHEN Palmer Hoyt took over as editor and publisher of the Denver *Post* early in 1946, liberals in the Rocky Mountain region offered a fervent prayer that a deliverer had come. For years the lurid, blatant journalistic fare dished up by the famous Bonfils and Tammen regime had made the *Post* synonymous with yellow journalism at its worst. At first their prayers seemed to be answered. Hoyt soon transformed the *Post* into one of the most forward-looking dailies in the West. The new editorial page was a model of journalistic integrity. Contributed editorials and full-length columns by local citizens who had something to say were invited—in addition to the customary letters to the editor. The unpopularity or radicalism of the views expressed did not bar their publication.

The *Post's* own editorials were predominantly progressive. Most significant, perhaps, was the new editor's enlightened internationalism, in striking contrast to the old *Post's* chauvinistic isolationism. But Hoyt also championed such causes as public power development, civil rights, rent control, public housing, and adequate anti-trust regulation. Though the *Post* backed Dewey in 1948, it indorsed the liberal John A. Carroll (Democrat) against the conservative Eugene Millikin (Republican) in the 1950 Senate contest in Colorado and has supported other liberal candidates.

Despite this record, the *Post* today, six years after Hoyt's arrival, is rapidly losing friends in liberal circles. Thousands of loyal readers are in a quandary, torn between their former genuine admiration for most of the paper's policies and their mounting alarm at some of the causes it has recently supported. The most disconcerting of the *Post's* recent aberrations was its clamor for dropping the atomic bomb in Korea—it even boasted that it was the only major daily to urge this. Though the *Post* upheld President Truman's right to fire General MacArthur, it has seen eye to eye with the General on most of his ideas for winning the Korean war.

For some time, too, the *Post* has indulged in smear-by-association tactics, not in editorials but in news stories. Items like this are not uncommon: "Denver Communists and a handful of sympathizers picketed the F. W. Woolworth store . . . in what picketers charged was discrimination by the company against Negroes. . . . Although the picketers said they were members of the East Denver Young Progressives Club . . . several known Communists were observed in the group." The reporter went on to say that he had spotted several other individuals "near by" who were identified—in his mind at least—with left-wing causes, including "the Wallace party."

Perhaps the most shocking of recent *Post* smear jobs was an editorial attacking the Anti-Defamation League and "organized Jewry" for their "threats of boycott and discrimination against the radio commentator Upton Close." Such action, the editorial said, proves that "organized Jewry is a pressure group" and confirms Close's charge of persecution. After protests, a second editorial partially retracted the charge but still insisted that Jews were ill-advised in taking action against Close, that they should only "declare themselves opposed" to him. This, as the Anti-Defamation League pointed out, was all they were actually doing.

Still another *Post* editorial attacked certain "non-Communist left-wing" publications for not being able to agree on every issue and even getting into spats with one another. *The Nation* was characterized as a "cynically above-it-all magazine, with definite Zionist overtones."

Then there was the case of David Hawkins, a professor of philosophy at the University of Colorado, who admitted former membership in the Communist Party but insisted that his sympathies were no longer with the Communists and that his former affiliation in no way affected his teaching ability. The *Post* decided that Hawkins should be crucified—if not in editorials, in so-called "news" stories—but despite its agitation the Board of Regents voted four to one to retain Hawkins on the faculty. Only then did the paper bring up its editorial guns. The verdict, it protested, was not "proper," since Hawkins had declined to put the finger on "persons he knew to be Communists in his local organization"; in failing to discharge him on this ground, the regents had "served badly the cause of continued freedom."

The *Post's* labor policy is another illustration of its present ambiguous position. While Hoyt travels about the country singing the praises of the labor movement—all fully reported in *Post* news stories—he attacks unions in his own bailiwick. For several years he has carried on a ruthless campaign to smash the *Post's* Newspaper Guild unit. On at least four occasions the Guild has been forced to file charges of unfair labor practices to obtain redress.

What has happened to blur the fine promise of Hoyt's direction of the *Post?* It is said that his drop-the-bomb obsession may be the result of top-level briefing in Washington. Hoyt has important connections in the capital and is an influential member of the President's Air Policy Commission, which in January, 1948, issued a highly significant report on plans for American aviation in war and peace. Partly because of his work on this commission, he has even been suggested for high government office.

An explanation for the *Post's* views on domestic issues is more difficult to discover. One theory is that Hoyt's liberalism was never more than a mask for basic undemocratic leanings. But this seems unlikely in view of the *Post's* forthright stand on many issues. A suggestion offered by some who know Hoyt intimately is that his personality is sharply divided. He has a sensitive and humane side which accounts for his liberalism. At the same time he has an insatiable thirst for power and fancies himself a man with a mission. Men convinced that they have a mission often believe that their country has the same mission. In a recent debate, for example, Hoyt said that we must drop the A-bomb now to "fulfil our national destiny, to be true to history." With such a philosophy, Hoyt may well conceive of himself as one of history's errand boys.

MAX AWNER

[*Max Awner is assistant editor of the* Colorado Labor Advocate.]

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

THE NEW RIGHTIST PREMIER ANTOINE PINAY, has, surely unwillingly, rendered a double service to the progressive cause in France by splitting the Gaullists and by throwing the Socialists into the opposition. Even if General De Gaulle succeeds in reestablishing formal discipline when the new Cabinet goes to the National Assembly on Tuesday, the break in the Gaullist movement is an important and also an amusing event. From the position above the conflicts of daily politics on which De Gaulle has ensconced himself, he often expressed utter contempt for the divisions within the other parties. Now at the decisive hour, when his fortunes were mounting, his disciplined Rally of the French People has proved no more solid than any of the old party groups. The Socialists will benefit from being put in a situation that allows no further doubt in regard to their attitude. The Socialist Party was suffering from sharp internal dissensions because of its lack of a clear political line; in the opposition it can, under bolder leadership, recover lost prestige and authority among the workers. This is especially true since the government is more reactionary in every respect than any France has had since the Liberation. Not only will it show greater dependence on Washington, in terms of both finance and policy; it is also pledged to a domestic program sure to antagonize and thus consolidate the left. More ominous perhaps even than Pinay's threat to freeze wages was his reference to legislation regulating strikes. Pinay is the first man to crystallize the reactionary clerical majority in the 1951 Assembly which was potentially there all the time.

*

FOR SOME 42,000,000 OF US THE IDES OF March mean the drudgery of filling out income-tax returns and the pain of handing over to Uncle Sam what he claims as his due. This year the pain is sharper than ever, for we shall be feeling the delayed-action bite of the 1950 tax law as well as the 11 per cent average increase provided by last year's revenue measure. In 1952 a married person with two dependents and an income of $5,000 before deductions will pay $146, or 33.7 per cent more than he did in 1949. In addition, of course, he is having to pay considerably more in indirect taxes. The total tax bill of the country, however, cannot be reduced without risking taxation by inflation. Even the most vigorous advocates of government economy do not propose reductions in expenditure large enough to permit lower taxes. For instance, Senator Byrd's "alternative budget" details cuts, including some that would cripple vital social programs, totaling over $8,000,000,000 but still leaves a deficit of some $6,000,000,000—far too large a sum to warrant any decrease in the Treasury's "take." Such a decrease, in fact, is not in the cards unless the government revises its rearmament program. Thus the taxpayer who supports present methods of fighting the cold war cannot logically complain that the total tax burden is too high. On the other hand, he may reasonably ask whether that burden is being fairly distributed.

*

A PAMPHLET ENTITLED "TAX LOOPHOLES," written by Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota and published by the Public Affairs Institute, answers this question with a resounding "No!" In providing revenue for the present emergency, it contends, Congress has not only refused to close large loopholes in our existing tax laws but has opened others. For example, last year's revenue act left untouched the "percentage-depletion" allowance, which permits owners of oil wells and some mining properties to charge off a large fraction of their earnings, and extended the same privilege to producers of many other minerals. Thanks to this allowance, oil companies in 1947, according to Treasury figures, were able to deduct 13 times more from gross profits than if they had been required to use ordinary depreciation methods. This is discrimination in favor of industries with a particularly powerful political pull. The five other loopholes cited by Senator Humphrey discriminate in favor of individuals in the higher income brackets, with the possible exception of the lack of a dividend-withholding system, which facilitates tax evasion by both large and small stockholders. Provisions for income and estate splitting by married persons, enacted in 1948, yield nothing to those with incomes of under $5,000 or fortunes of less than $60,000, but for those with more the benefits increase proportionately to the size of the income or estate. The same thing is true of the capital-gains tax, the ceiling on which was raised by 1 per cent only in the 1951 revenue act, and of the new "family-partnership" provision which permits a rich father to save many thousands a year by giving his children an interest in his business. These are some

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• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 241
Communism in the Schools *by Freda Kirchwey* 243

ARTICLES

Chicago's Machine-Gun Politics *by Carey McWilliams* 245
Bevan's Bid for Power *by Andrew Roth* 247
The Heart of the French Problem *by Alexander Werth* 249
In Defense of Current Sex Studies *by Albert Ellis and Donald Webster Cory* 250
Hindering the Search for Morality *by Milton R. Sapirstein* 252
How Free Is Canada's Air? *by Henry Montcalm* 253

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Diet and the Birth Rate *by Barbara Cadbury* 254
The Factual Melville *by Richard Chase* 255
The Lore of Islam *by Robert Phelps* 256
Books in Brief 256
Drama *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 258
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 259

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 260

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 456 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 260

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of the loopholes through which the wealthy are slipping their fair share of our common burden. Until they are plugged it is futile to talk of "equality of sacrifice."

*

COMMENTING ON THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH urging $7,900,000,000 in foreign-aid, Republican columnist David Lawrence admits he does not know whether the amount asked is too much or too little, but he is sure "the American people are bewildered by the Administration's foreign policy." He goes on: "They are being told that billions are needed for defense of the free world, and yet they see the French Parliament refusing to tax even moderately for European defense. . . . They read of the statements of both Prime Minister Churchill and the Socialist Party opposition as denouncing the government of Chiang Kai-shek, and they read that support of Chiang is a cardinal part of the American government's policy. . . . They see the United States bearing the brunt of the [Korean] struggle with the blood of its youth . . . and remember it hasn't been waged with maximum force at all." Mr. Lawrence concludes with a plea for a better Anglo-French-American understanding. These comments, we think, suggest the broad outlines of an extremely interesting foreign-policy program for the Republican Presidential candidate: (1) peace in Korea; (2) final abandonment of Chiang Kai-shek; (3) evolution of a world policy through agreement with the peoples of Britain, France, and the rest of the Western world and not through American imposition. We think such a program would attract millions of votes to the Republican candidate who espoused it. But would it attract Mr. Lawrence's?

*

ANOTHER POLITICAL MURDER, A FANTASTIC horse-meat racket, and sensational disclosures of corruption in government (see Machine-Gun Politics by Carey McWilliams on page 245) recently brought into being a "Committee of 19," made up of prominent Chicago citizens, to cope with the scandalous situation. Now an "anti-subversive" committee of the American Legion has tried to undercut the work of the Committee of 19 by "fingering" two of its members, Earl B. Dickerson and Dr. John A. Lapp. The Legion accuses these men of having been affiliated with groups of which it disapproves and charges further that other members of the committee have opposed its efforts "to bring about legislation to safeguard our liberties." Apparently opposition to any measure the Legion has ever sponsored automatically disqualifies a person for civic duty. With insufferable cant the Legion announces that it "can take no part in any of the activities of the Big 19 until those undesirable elements" have been ousted. Only Chicago's little children and feeble-minded will take this nonsense seriously. Dr. John A. Lapp and Earl Dicker-

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son are outstanding citizens. Can it be that the Legion wants to sabotage the work of the Committee of 19 and is looking for an excuse for its failure to cooperate? We trust that the response of the committee will be a decision to investigate the interests of local Legion posts in liquor licenses and slot machines.

✶

STATE OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN ASKED BY THE Protestant Bill of Rights Committee in Wisconsin, originally formed by Milwaukee Lutherans, to halt payments to some fourteen public schools that now employ nuns as teachers. The committee charges that these schools are under the "domination" of priests or religious orders of the Roman Catholic church, in defiance of the state constitution. Holding that religion can be taught by indirect as well as direct methods, the committee specifies the day-to-day "indoctrination of children in an atmosphere which leads them to decide" that the faith of the teachers is the faith they should embrace. It also contends that the wearing of religious garb by teachers helps to create such an atmosphere. The issue first attracted general attention in Wisconsin about two years ago when a parent in the community of Duran refused to permit his son to attend a public school in which nuns, in the garb of their order, were the only teachers. Subsequent investigation revealed a similar situation in thirteen other public schools, most of them in rural areas. To combat it, the committee has announced a three-point program: it will first seek redress by administrative action; failing this it will take court action, and then, if necessary, direct political action. Much the same issue is shaping up in certain Minnesota communities, notably in Worthington and Pierz.

✶

ARCHITECTS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY will certainly seize upon the Soviet Union's military budget—the highest peace-time budget in the country's history—as justification for our armaments policy all along the line. In this sense the Kremlin did President Truman excellent service by releasing its budget figures on the very day the President made his plea for foreign aid. Yet any thoughtful observer must see that the Russians' planned military expenditures bear some relationship to our own. We too are operating under the biggest peace-time military budget in our history. We are going even farther. We are helping Britain and France to operate under the biggest peace-time military budgets in *their* history. We are planning a West German army, a European army, and a Middle East army, not to speak of a whopping big one of our own. If Truman, using the Soviet budget as a lever, succeeds in upping our own still farther, the ultimate result can only be that the Kremlin's 1953 budget also will be boosted again. The simple truth is that we are in an armaments race—a fact too often overlooked in the great debate over who started it. There is a way of stopping this race before it ends in war. The U. N.'s Disarmament Commission, under orders from the General Assembly, is scheduled to meet in a few weeks. The Russians have indicated willingness to participate. That is the place to debate not only the Russian military budget but also our own—and to come to some agreement on both.

Communism in the Schools

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

AMERICANS should realize that the Supreme Court decision upholding the constitutionality of New York's Feinberg law all but insures a rash of similar legislation spreading across the country. So certain is this result, given the present-day temper, that liberals in other states should acquaint themselves with the provisions of the law and prepare for efforts by zealous legislators to duplicate it. Meanwhile, in New York, all opponents of the measure must get ready to fight a long hard battle for its repeal. If the issue is left to those most directly involved, the teachers themselves, the anti-democratic assumptions of the Feinberg law, having won majority approval in the Supreme Court, will become the established norm—one more long step toward the garrison state we are supposedly preparing to resist to the death.

In New York City the situation has been complicated by a series of acts of the local educational authorities so repressive and arbitrary that the application of the Feinberg law may actually provide protection to the persons affected. This ironic state of affairs came about as the result of the legal attack on the law instituted soon after its adoption in 1949. Enforcement of the law was halted when suit was brought by a group of teachers, parents, and taxpayers to enjoin the Board of Education from carrying out its provisions. But the Superintendent of Schools was unwilling to wait upon the slow processes of the law. He went ahead, on the basis of existing sections of the Civil Service law and the Education law, to institute a purge of employees suspected of Communist or other "subversive" leanings or associations. The famous case of the eight teachers dismissed last year, now under appeal in the state Supreme Court, was the first result of Dr. Jansen's administrative housecleaning. A second batch of eight was suspended at the beginning of this February for refusing to tell whether or not they were or had been Communist Party members; the charge against them is "insubordination and conduct unbecoming a teacher." According to Dr. Jansen a third list of suspects is being assembled for questioning in the near future.

In all these cases juridical safeguards have been

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brushed aside. A teacher to be investigated receives a letter instructing him to report to the Corporation Counsel's office. There he is questioned by Assistant Corporation Counsel Saul Moskoff, in the presence of a stenographer and a recording machine. He is allowed no lawyer but can take with him a "teacher adviser," provided he can find a fellow-teacher willing to serve. The role is hardly popular, for a "teacher adviser" himself becomes a suspect by association. If the person under investigation refuses to answer all questions put to him—and many of the questions are both offensive and totally irrelevant—he is charged with insubordination, and suspension promptly follows. In no case so far has a teacher been accused of professional misconduct in act or word: no subversive teaching, no subversive influence on the pupils outside the classroom. Hearings which determine whether or not an "insubordinate" teacher shall be dropped are also conducted without proper safeguards, although the defendants are permitted counsel and in the event of dismissal may petition the courts for reinstatement. Altogether it is obvious that the patriotic zeal of New York's Superintendent of Schools has not been frustrated by the temporary suspension of the Feinberg law. None the less he welcomes the Supreme Court decision as a green light, since it confers high judicial sanction and respectability on a campaign whose legality has been widely challenged. In exchange for such indorsement he can well afford to sacrifice a few high-handed procedures.

The Feinberg law provides for the dismissal of any school employee who, by reason of membership in an organization considered subversive by the state Board of Regents, might try to spread propaganda advocating the overthrow of the government by force and violence. Teachers suspected of belonging to proscribed organizations have a right to a hearing and a court review, but under the law no overt act need be proved; membership alone is prima facie ground for dismissal. What organizations, apart from the Communist Party itself, will be put on the proscribed list no one yet knows. To carry out the task of detection the law sets up an elaborate system of spying and informing. The Regents may decide to adopt the federal Attorney General's list or may invent one of their own; their original list was never promulgated because of the court action now ended. Under the law listed organizations have the right to appeal to the courts.

What will be the effect of this act? The majority opinion that it does not deprive teachers of the right to free speech or assembly or deny due process is based primarily on the view that since "a teacher works in a sensitive area," shaping "the attitude of young minds toward the society in which they live," the state has a proper concern in the "integrity" of the process. But this argument can as well be used to support a contrary conclusion. For "thought control" exercised by the state over teaching, and thus over the minds of children, is exactly the method used by Communist governments—and presumably approved by Communist organizations and individuals—to insure conformity rather than integrity. It is freedom, not control, that leads to integrity in teaching. Even a person who believes no Communist or near-Communist can be trusted to keep his classrooms free from bias might well agree that a certain amount of partisan teaching would be less paralyzing to the educational process than the methods of spying, intimidation, denunciation, and inquisition prescribed in the new law.

The best answer to the majority view was the remarkable dissent of Justice Douglas, together with the concurring opinion by Justice Black—two statements that should be adopted by opponents of the law as their campaign platform. Justice Douglas made short work of the argument that freedom of thought and expression as guaranteed by the Constitution are not undermined by the provisions of the Feinberg law. After attacking the principle of establishing guilt through association and pointing out the almost insurmountable obstacles faced by an accused teacher in proving his innocence, the dissent describes in eloquent, plain language the certain effect of such a measure on the schools themselves.

> The law inevitably turns the school system into a spying project. Regular loyalty reports on the teachers must be made out. The principals become detectives; the students, the parents, the community become informers. Ears are cocked for telltale signs of disloyalty.
>
> The prejudices of the community come into play in searching out the disloyal. This is not the usual type of supervision which checks a teacher's competency; it is a system which searches for hidden meanings in a teacher's utterances.
>
> What was the significance of the reference of the art teacher to socialism? Why was the history teacher so openly hostile to Franco Spain? Who heard overtones of revolution in the English teacher's discussion of "The Grapes of Wrath"?...
>
> What happens under this law is typical of what happens in a police state. Teachers are under constant surveillance; their pasts are combed for signs of disloyalty; their utterances are watched for clues to dangerous thoughts. A pall is cast over the classrooms.... Of course the school systems of the country need not become cells for Communist activity; and the classrooms need not become forums for propagandizing the Marxist creed. But the guilt of the teacher should turn on overt acts. So long as she is a law-abiding citizen, so long as her performance within the public school system meets professional standards, her private life, her political philosophy, her social creed should not be the cause of reprisals against her.

This, we believe, is the true verdict on the Feinberg law and all it represents, even though it is not the verdict which prevails.

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Chicago's Machine-Gun Politics

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Chicago

THE murder of Charles Gross, Republican committeeman for Chicago's Thirty-first (West Side) Ward, has touched off a great blaze of moral indignation. "Declare Civic War on Mob," thunders the Chicago *Tribune*, and offers a $10,000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the killers. "Sweep Hoodlums out of Politics!" runs another headline. "Stand up, you office-holders, you politicians, law-enforcers, policemen," demands the *Daily News* in a front-page editorial, "stand up and start moving. Put on your fighting clothes and fight." When Chicago is having one of these spasms of moral indignation its civic wrath is truly terrifying. But somehow a visitor cannot escape the conclusion that little will come of the furor except, perhaps, confirmation of the fairly obvious proposition that "corruption" is bipartisan. Before the Republicans become too thoroughly committed to the corruption issue, they might take a look at this Cook County extravaganza.

A West Side Republican bloc which has been growing in political power since the early 1920's now controls a dozen or so of Chicago's fifty wards. Most of its representatives in the state legislature come from rotten boroughs which, despite heavy population shifts, have not been reapportioned in more than fifty years. The mobsters who really elect these legislators are seldom interested in more than a dozen bills out of perhaps two thousand that may be introduced. The result is that the lawmakers can vote on the 1,988 other bills with bland indifference to the welfare of their constituents. Functioning as a unit, they have tremendous bargaining power.

The candidates of the West Side bloc seldom face opposition in either the primary or the election. Most of them are "home free"—as good as elected—long before the primary. Occasionally some naive person has the temerity to oppose a bloc representative, but such upstarts usually withdraw at the last moment, citing "ill health" as the reason for their abrupt decision to abandon politics as a career. Sometimes they admit that they have been chased from the field by threats or actual violence. In the last two years there have been six political murders in Chicago, all of them still unsolved. "How much longer will this slaughter continue?" asks Alderman Robert Merriam. "Who will be next? Are we to sit back quietly and wait? Somewhere a halt must be called." But it will not be easy to call a halt to political gangsterism in Chicago.

The current phase of Chicago's gunshot politics is so much like earlier outbreaks of gang violence as to suggest that the condition is somehow organic. "The mob has been extending its political influence for many years," the Chicago *Sun-Times* points out; "gangland is openly campaigning for political power with bullets instead of ballots." In the old days gangster violence was largely intramural, and the gangs were then content to rely upon informal alliances with various machine politicians. Political power was a means to an end; it is now a business. This movement of the mobs into direct political action reflects a shift in their economic interests. Here is the way one G. O. P. leader explains it: "The gambling racket is dead. The mob is now infiltrating into big business—all business—and all the political power it can muster will be used to put official 'muscle' into operation against legitimate merchants and manufacturers."

THE scandal over the sale of mule and horse meat for human consumption shows how gangsters are pushing to the top in business and politics. In the last two years the Chicago area has been inundated with millions of pounds of such meat, which has been sold to make not only hamburger but sausage and stew meat. One packer has confessed that he sold about 100,000 pounds of horse meat a week to the ringleader of the racket. Some mule and horse meat has for years found its way into the "hamburger" market, but the mobsters first moved into the field in a big way in 1949, when enormous profits could be made. Horse meat could be bought for 7 to 14 cents a pound and sold to wholesalers for 30 to 45 cents a pound; the wholesaler could then sell it to restaurants for 65 to 80 cents a pound. One small wholesaler banked $250,000 in four months; another sold 55,000 pounds of horse meat in thirteen days. Some twenty-five fairly large wholesalers were at one time engaged in the racket. At the outset business was so good that the mobsters began to hijack trucks carrying meat which they had sold to their customers. One dealer was robbed of $18,000 by the same hoodlums who had just paid it to him for a consignment of horse meat. The volume of mule and horse meat reaching the market became so great that honest retailers and wholesalers were finally forced to enter the racket in order to meet the prices of their more unscrupulous competitors.

The organizers of this multi-million-dollar racket were Chicago gangsters with important bipartisan political

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connections. But many other elements of society were involved—politicians, civil servants, truckers, restaurant and cafe owners, meat packers, and wholesale and retail meat dealers. To view this racket, then, as the evil inspiration of the Mafia is silly. Thirteen state food inspectors have been removed from their jobs for having not only accepted but in many cases solicited bribes from the ringleaders of the racket. One has confessed that he received as much as $450 a month in bribes. One was an ex-convict who had top Democratic sponsorship for his job. The registered agent of one of the horse-meat packing plants involved turns out to be a Democratic precinct captain whose name also appears on the city pay roll as an "assistant street inspector." The son of Dr. Herman N. Bundesen, city health commissioner, has been asked by the grand jury about his representation, as a lawyer, of individuals haled for questioning about the horse-meat scandal before the board over which his father presides. A racket as extensive as this could not have gone on for two years without interference by either state or local officials unless bipartisan political arrangements had been made at a fairly high level. Indeed, the scandal was only brought to light by the more or less accidental intervention of Office of Price Stabilization officials.

Now, of course, Republicans and Democrats are blaming each other. The *Tribune*, not noted for the fairness of its judgments, makes a practice of referring to Governor Adlai Stevenson as "the Dark Horse-Burger Candidate" or, more succinctly, as "Horse Meat Adlai." On the other hand, the Democrats point to the fact that the notorious West Side bloc is Republican. Actually the threads of influence and control reach across party lines. Chicago's "reform" mayor, Martin Kennelly, has found it extremely difficult to explain, for example, the city patronage made available to Aldermen D'Arco and Petrone, both regarded as representatives of the bloc.

SINCE the murder of Gross, all sorts of curious facts have come to light. City and county pay rolls have "ghost" employees who have drawn salaries but have never worked. Even the slain Gross had been placed on the pay roll of the county highway department in January as "a right-of-way investigator" at $450 a month. Another ghost employee was one "James Addison," who received $6,400 in thirty-two monthly checks of $200 each. The checks were sent to the home address of state Representative James J. Adduci, a West Side Republican. When first questioned about these checks, Adduci said: "See Bill Erickson." At the time this happened William N. Erickson, president of the County Board, was a candidate for the Republican nomination for governor. Referring to the incident, the *Daily News* said on February 14: "The fraud was committed very close to Erickson's own office. It is conceivable that he might not have known about it. But if he is fit to be County Board president, much less governor, he will lose no time in finding out all about it." Two weeks later Erickson withdrew from the gubernatorial race to devote all his time to "cleaning up the county's pay-roll mess." The *Daily News* said of his withdrawal: "Erickson apparently yielded to the wishes of his supporters. As the principal dispenser of Republican patronage in Cook County, he was a natural target for public resentment over mushrooming revelations of abuses of the patronage system."

Later another phantom employee was discovered who had been recommended for his job by Erickson himself. This individual drew $3,780 in salary as "sergeant-at-arms with the forest preserve" while basking in the sunshine at his Arizona ranch. The former Twenty-fifth Ward Republican committeeman, fired from his sanitary-district job in the current purge, admits that he had two in-laws on the pay rolls whose checks were regularly indorsed by his son, who was also on the pay roll for $385 a month! On the other hand, a man was found on the Chicago city pay roll as an "inspector for the committee on local transportation" who was also holding down a job in the Democratic state administration as a revenue inspector. But it is, after all, the Republicans who control the County Board in Cook County. Richard Yates Rowe, one of

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Erickson's Republican opponents, has charged that "Erickson harbors more hoodlum-sponsored employees on his pay rolls than all the rest of the county officers put together."

As Chicagoans were reading about the meat scandal and the Gross murder, Oliver Clubb announced that he was resigning as a senior State Department official because he felt that the charges made against him had seriously damaged his career, despite the fact that he was exonerated. At least one Middle Western editor put into juxtaposition the hysteria of the witch hunt and the scandals in Chicago and drew therefrom a moral. Writing in the Madison *Capital-Times* of February 15, William T. Evjue pointed out:

> It is a measure of the madness that is upon us in this country that men of this stature are hounded from public life, while the nation goes indifferently on its way as hoodlums and gangsters continue to muscle in on politics in many of our larger cities, taking over the political system with the same methods they used to take over rackets. . . . Have we reached the point in our national hysteria where we pillory men of the caliber of Clubb, Service, Acheson, Marshall, and others while we exalt the killers and hoodlums of the underworld?
>
> Wise old politicians who know that organized crime, by its very nature, must have its connections in the so-called upper world of respectable business men and politics to continue, are not getting excited [about the trouble in Chicago]. They remember that it was one of the city's most prominent bankers who made it possible for Ralph Capone to conceal hidden bank deposits for a long time from income-tax authorities. They know that the present outraged mood will pass away and that the hoodlums will continue to reach out for more power in the political system while the partnership of crime, business, and politics continues to work as long as it will produce profits.

But it would be misleading to conclude this report on such a sour note. Chicago is already recovering from its sense of outrage. Republican Sheriff John Babb feels that the purges have gone too far; in fact, he thinks that local officials have been guilty of a form of "political genocide" in purging pay rolls of phantom employees. Restaurant owner Chris Carson, in an effort to restore public confidence in hamburgers, gave away an estimated 100,000 sandwiches "with all the trimmings" in one day, just to show that "there's really nothing as good as the all-American hamburger." Already people are beginning to forget about those un-American muleburgers. "After all," Mr. Carson told the press, "Chicago is the meat-packing capital of the world. If the people can't trust their hamburgers here, where can they?"

Bevan's Bid for Power

BY ANDREW ROTH

London

ANEURIN BEVAN, British Labor's most powerful heavyweight, now faces his toughest bout in his patient progress toward the top title. He must not only deliver effective punches against the sturdy Conservative champion, while elbowing aside right-wing Labor contenders, but make sure that his strength is not undermined by a series of Communist-encouraged political strikes. Since militant non-Communist unionists support these strikes, Bevan and his group have been put on the spot. If they sanction essentially political strikes they risk isolating themselves from the bulk of the Labor movement, particularly its orthodox leaders. If they oppose them, the very Labor militants upon whom Bevan is depending to propel him into power may turn to Communist leaders.

"Bet on Bevan to come out on top!" say those who follow British political form most knowingly. Even the conservative *Times* recently wrote of his "displaying a mastery . . . which would be surprising if one had not grown to expect it of him." The pugnacious Welshman is already slugging it out toe to toe with the equally contentious Churchill. The unparalleled style of the Prime Minister's lunge has obscured the fact that it is he who has given ground. He has already lopped £300,000,000 off the rearmament budget. He felt it necessary to deny in the strongest terms that Britain is committed to all-out war against China. And he has disowned John Foster Dulles's plans to sponsor counter-revolution on the Asian mainland.

Leaders of Labor's right wing still show the effects of having been caught between the two giants in the historic foreign-affairs debate of February 26. Mr. Morrison appears diminished in size, and even the widely respected Mr. Attlee was bruised. In the debate the style of the ex-Foreign Secretary's attack on Mr. Churchill, coupled with his previous silence on his Korean commitments, revealed the inroads of "Bevanism" in the Parliamentary Labor Party. Morrison called Churchill's Washington trip "a doubtful mission undertaken by the wrong man at the wrong time," which produced "very

ANDREW ROTH is a staff contributor now stationed in London.

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small results for our country" and involved "vaguely expressed and possibly grave commitments." "We must resist aggression," he mildly bellowed, "but our business is not to build up a Chinese wall against us. . . . I do not want to see us drift into an attitude of subservience to America which is bound to do harm to our good relationship in due course."

Churchill brushed off these charges as "weak, vague, wandering." Labor, he jeered, was sufficiently "Machiavellian" to build atom bombs while "accusing their opponents of being warmongers." Then he shook Morrison badly by baring that the latter had agreed, the previous May, to the bombing of airfields in China if heavy raids were launched from these airfields against the U. N. forces in Korea. At this point Bevan charged to the rescue, yelling "Foul!" Churchill, he maintained, was violating the rules of the game in revealing the previous government's action without "laying the document" before Parliament. To onlookers it was difficult to tell whether Morrison felt worse over being hit where it hurt by Churchill or being rescued by Nye Bevan. But it was Bevan's masterful and varied oratory that absorbed all attention. Bevan pressed Churchill into saying whether he accepted Mr. Dulles's proposal to overthrow the Peking government. Even when Churchill answered, "No, sir, certainly not," Bevan added: "We must warn our American friends that not one British soldier will risk his life" to wage "an ideological war with weapons against the Soviet Union."

The impact of this parliamentary battle on Labor M. P.'s was staggering, particularly after they sampled opinions in their constituencies on the week-end of March 1-2. The more alert Laborites must have known that last summer the Labor government went almost all the way with President Truman's Administration on Korea, for this was made quite clear by the Foreign Office-inspired diplomatic correspondents and the editorial writers of the leading papers. But it came as a shock to the party stalwarts who took foreign policy on faith as long as it was handled by "Herbert" and "Good old Clem." Many felt betrayed that their leaders had entered such a battle with Churchill when they were so vulnerable. Even right-wing Laborites have to admit that without Bevan, instead of securing a draw, Labor would have suffered a knockout.

The Manchester *Guardian* expressed the position of the Foreign Office when it warned recently that Bevan's views and even Attlee's milder echo of them would "make Senator Taft whoop with joy" and that Washington would be "less . . . willing to listen to our views" if it doubted Britain's loyalty to the alliance. Answering a similar charge in Commons, Bevan asked Selwyn Lloyd sarcastically whether "the House of Commons should be in recess during the American election year."

However unpopular Bevan may be in Washington—he himself says, "I have more friends in America than I have on the other [Conservative] side of the House"—he is becoming more and more the voice of Labor Britain in a period of deepening crisis. Thus on March 2 the Bishop of Birmingham, who is no Communist, attacked the napalm bombs used by the United States as "an even greater disgrace to mankind" than the atom bomb. He also voiced the belief, fairly widespread among Labor intellectuals, that the Chinese Communists might be regarded "as the beginning of a new social development, a transformation which in the end will give to China, with its great and ancient civilization, the leadership of human progress."

Bevan said during the debate that "every miner, railwayman, and agricultural worker in Britain knows very well that if he were in China he would be a Communist peasant. He would not be for Chiang Kai-shek, he would be a Communist." He had intended, his intimates disclosed, to devote quite a bit of time to the need for capturing the leadership, or at least the friendship, of the Asian revolution but had to change his plans to resist Churchill's onslaught. In particular he had intended to attack Anglo-American policy toward Indo-China. He did find time to ridicule the Conservative, and American, idea that all Communist-led Asian revolts are "the result of a Kremlin plot."

The increasing attraction of what Bevanites call a "really Socialist foreign policy" is illustrated by the recent decision of the Labor Party's National Executive to readmit to party membership ex-M. P. Konni Zilliacus. This former League of Nations official was a leading foreign-affairs spokesman for Labor's left wing until his expulsion three years ago, together with three crypto-Communists. The others have continued to echo Soviet policy, but Zilliacus has shown a deep sympathy for Titoism—he speaks Serbo-Croat and has just finished a semi-official biography of Tito.

The increase in the Bevanites' strength so dramatically shown in the Commons debate of March 5 has precipitated a crisis in the Labor Party. As this is written, the Executive Council has been called into special session by Attlee. Despite Attlee's urgent request that they limit their disagreement to abstention, fifty-seven Labor members voted against the defense program. Bevan, staunchly defending this defiance of party discipline, has since warned the leadership that he is prepared to bolt the party to effectuate his ideas.

Whether Bevan's leadership of the Labor Party will mature quickly or take three or four years is now being decided in the mines, factories, and union halls. Although Bevan came up through the trade-union movement and expresses the feelings of the workers, he has very little support among the union bosses, some of whom, like Arthur Deakin, hold his criticism of rearmament responsible for the present political strikes.

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The Heart of the French Problem

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris

THE Faure government, which lasted thirty-nine days, will be remembered as the government of Lisbon, of Hoa-Binh, and of the franc panic of February, 1952. When, on the night of its fall, somebody mentioned these three disasters, M. Faure, who has a sense of humor and perhaps also a touching faith in the eternity of French parliamentary institutions and of his own career, remarked: "Well, Daladier has lived down many worse things." It was Daladier, indeed, who was chiefly responsible for the defeat of M. Faure, having induced twenty-eight Radicals—members of the party to which the Premier himself belongs—to join the Gaullists, Communists, and some forty members of the "classic" right in voting against the 15 per cent tax increase demanded by the government to avert an immediate financial crisis and to meet, at least in part, the expenditures on rearmament and the war in Indo-China.

The absurdity of the parliamentary situation is found in the fact that many of the same deputies who refused to provide more revenue had voted a few hours earlier for a heavily increased military outlay. This, for one reason or another, they had considered "inevitable," but higher taxes would annoy constituents, vested interests, and the village pump. The Pleven government had fallen in January for much the same reason, though this time, disturbed by M. Faure's "leftist" bias, the right wing of his majority also wanted "a change."

It is easy to jeer at French governmental instability and at the continuing lack of a firm majority in the Assembly; one could not be brought into being even by the trick of "Third Force" *apparentements* in the last general election. The British press, especially, has been insufferably self-righteous and has compared France with "efficient" Germany. All the jeering, needless to say, has been lapped up with relish by the Gaullist papers here. *Paris-Presse* joyfully reproduced, in facsimile, the advice given to France by the London *Daily Mirror,* of all papers—which was to get itself a "strong man" quickly.

Only a few timid voices abroad have remarked that financial troubles are not, after all, peculiar to France but part and parcel of the whole European set-up, not to be explained away by pretentious dissertations about "the French character." These voices have ventured to suggest that something very similar might happen in London too, before very long. The French habit of hoarding gold and dollar bills, many have rightly observed, was only a symptom of the trouble, not its cause. The real cause of the financial crisis was obvious: France was living far beyond its means and could not afford, simultaneously, a program of capital investment and reconstruction even if sharply curtailed, heavy rearmament, and, last but not least, the war in Indo-China, in which in the past few years something like two billion pounds had been sunk.

A few minutes before the Assembly vote which overthrew his government, M. Faure had stated emphatically that Indo-China was the real heart of the French problem, in both a financial and a military sense. As long as France had to fight this war alone and pay for it almost alone, as long as the cadres of at least six divisions were out there, there could be no adequate French army in Europe and no stable franc. At Lisbon, he said, he had asked "whether or not Indo-China was included in the common defense strategy" and had received no answer. He implied that Germany, as a result of Lisbon, would soon gain a dominant position in Europe, both militarily and economically, and he stressed that his successor—whoever he might be—must receive an answer to the question about Indo-China.

The next day it was found that there was no money left in the kitty, and a hasty advance of twenty-five billion francs, repayable in three weeks, had to be obtained from the Bank of France for current expenses. M. Baumgartner, governor of the bank, having refused to raise the legal limit of the note circulation, frigidly agreed to advance the money against Treasury bonds, accompanying his concession with a sermon on the disastrous state of the French budget. How the money will be repaid by March 20, if at all, is a mystery for the present. The pessimists, of course, are crowing that France has "started on the road of inflation." Taking account of Indo-China and the need to pay for imports out of the meager gold reserves, the charge is perhaps not altogether unjustified.

AS FAURE rightly said, Indo-China is the heart of the problem, and much depends on what is done about it. For three years I have stressed in this journal the folly of the Indo-China war, quoting such farsighted Frenchmen as M. Mendès-France who insisted that the war was incompatible with France's authority in Europe and in consequence were treated as cranks or secret Communists by the successive governments and by

ALEXANDER WERTH is The Nation's *correspondent in Paris.*

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moth-eaten oracles like André Siegfried. First the war was waged in the name of French prestige and *la présence française*. Then, even after French moneyed interests like the Banque d'Indochine had given it up as a bad investment and had been replaced by piastre racketeers, it was waged as a missionary war "against world communism," a pendant as it were to the sacred war waged by the U. N. in Korea. An attempt was made to get financial and military aid from the Americans, but they were interested only if it was understood that France should go on carrying the baby.

Today nearly everybody agrees with Mendès-France. The withdrawal last week from Hoa-Binh in the mountains west of the Tonkin delta—described at the time of its capture by the French last November as "the key to Vietminh's whole system of communications"—was not only an important political move but also a serious military setback for the French, who lost at least three battalions in their retreat. The capture of Hoa-Binh was undertaken, it is now learned, against the better judgment of General de Lattre and at the insistence of M. Letourneau, Minister for Indo-China, who wanted to "impress Washington" at a time when it was feeding the French vague promises of aid. This aid amounted to so little that after three agonizing months the French found they could no longer hold Hoa-Binh. Vietminh troops, better armed than before, were penetrating more and more frequently into the delta land around Hanoi, now no longer adequately defended; the road to Hoa-Binh was a constant death trap; and the "prestige operation" had to be abandoned. M. Letourneau, the "Duke of Hoa-Binh" as Claude Bourdet ironically calls him, has been saying strange and shocking things: "Of course the evacuation of the expeditionary force is our ultimate aim. Of course we are willing to negotiate with Vietminh, but we're damned if we'll take the first step."

The experts' view is that Vietminh, despite its recent successes—Hoa-Binh was acclaimed throughout the Communist world as a major victory—is willing to negotiate, provided the French government sends official and fully accredited negotiators. Vietminh is genuinely anxious to industrialize and to raise the living standard of its people, which cannot be done to any extent as long as the war lasts. As things now stand, according to reliable reports, the end of the war need not be a shameful French surrender; M. Daladier believes that Vietminh may agree to much more reasonable terms from the French point of view than the Crusaders like to admit.

Two principal features of the Cabinet crisis were Reynaud's failure to form a National Government by bringing the Gaullists in through the back door and the revolt within Gaullist ranks enabling a government to be formed around the rightist Antoine Pinay. The wayward Gaullists undoubtedly were motivated by their realization that France was not prepared for grave commotion and a fascist upheaval and also by their desire to avoid the nomination to the premiership of Mendès-France, whom President Auriol would have called had Pinay failed. Mendès-France would have meant drastic austerity and a clear-cut decision to terminate the Indo-China war. Pinay means inroads on social services, purely theoretical price control, and real depression wages.

In Defense of Current Sex Studies

BY ALBERT ELLIS and DONALD WEBSTER CORY

IN A review of Donald Webster Cory's book, "The Homosexual in America," in *The Nation* for December 22, 1951, Dr. Milton R. Sapirstein included some aspersions on other recent books on sex, in particular on "Patterns of Sexual Behavior" by Clellan S. Ford and Frank A. Beach and "Sexual Behavior in the Human Male" by Alfred C. Kinsey and associates. His remarks would be unimportant if they did not seem to represent the views of several other recent writers and to raise some vital moral questions.

ALBERT ELLIS, formerly Chief Psychologist of the State of New Jersey, is now practicing psychoanalytically oriented psychotherapy in New York City. He is the author of "The Folklore of Sex."

DONALD WEBSTER CORY is a pseudonym.

Dr. Sapirstein begins his attack:

> Much of the recent literature on homosexuality and sex in general—such as Kinsey, Ford, and Beach—tends to impress the gullible reader with the wide variation of sexual practices in different cultures as well as in different biological species. Beginning with an attitude of tolerant liberalism, they all end up with an attack on the accepted sexual *mores* of our Western Hebrew-Christian society.

This is simply not so. The distinguished American anthropologist Margaret Mead, who has been foremost in stressing the wide variations of sexual and other practices in different cultures, has tempered her tolerance with considerable conservatism. She vigorously attacked Dr. Kinsey and his associates when "Sexual Behavior in the Human Male" first appeared, contend-

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ing that it should never have been permitted to become a best-seller because "the sudden removal of a previously guaranteed reticence has left many young people singularly defenseless in just those areas where their desire to conform was protected by a lack of knowledge of the extent of non-conformity." Drs. Ford and Beach are also restrained in their conclusions and make a plea only for more research into the biological and anthropological aspects of human sexuality. They do not attack any of our contemporary sexual customs or taboos. Nor, aside from pointing out that if certain of our sex laws were properly enforced most of our male population would be in jail, do Kinsey and his associates specifically attack our accepted sexual *mores*.

Dr. Sapirstein continues:

> As a plea for less prejudice they are undoubtedly justified. But what these authors seem to forget, or do not know, is that the sexual practices of the individual and his community can never be studied out of context of personality structure, religious-moral system, prestige values, economic system, and so forth.

Actually, of course, Dr. Kinsey and his associates made a special point of studying the individual within the context of his religious-moral views, economic status, education, and so on and continually present their sexual findings in various personal-social contexts. More of their book is devoted to the relationships between an individual's sex outlets and the non-sexual aspects of his life than to any other phase of their study. As for Ford and Beach, they conclude that "it is our hope that the present volume will serve as a useful step toward the development of a sound understanding of the sexual behavior of human beings as it is affected by their evolutionary heritage *and by the conditions imposed upon them by their environment*" (our italics).

Dr. Sapirstein wittily goes on:

> If the authors who recommend unlimited variations of sexual practice were prepared to argue for the family structure of the guinea pig or the economic system of the Marquesans it would make more sense. But, instead, they all belittle the rather narrow limits of sexual "normality" in our culture, challenging the goals which are traditional for our culture—offering only unlimited variation as an alternative.

JUST who are these authors who recommend unlimited variation in sexual practice? Certainly Drs. Kinsey, Ford, and Beach do not recommend any such thing, for the members of our present society. About the only well-known contemporary writer who comes close to fitting Dr. Sapirstein's description is René Guyon, who published his main works over a decade ago and is a jurist rather than an anthropologist or biologist. Even if he is thinking of a writer like Dr. Guyon, however, Dr. Sapirstein's logic is faulty, for actually one can advocate the sex habits of, say, the Marquesans without advocating their particular economic system or even their family system. Similar forms of sex activity have existed for centuries in regions with most diverse economic systems and in those where the family system has been either matrilinear or patrilinear, exogamous or endogamous, based on the small or the large family. There is certainly no fixed relationship between a given set of sex *mores* and a given family, economic, religious, or political system, although there are, of course, some important interrelations.

Dr. Kinsey

As for Dr. Sapirstein's fears about the espousal of "unlimited variation," not even the ultra-liberal Dr. Guyon and surely not Drs. Kinsey, Ford, and Beach argue that *all* human beings should adopt *all* the variations of sexual behavior which exist among *all* the known human and animal communities. What Guyon advocates is merely the freedom of individuals to practice, in an orderly, private, and mutually consenting manner, sex acts which are satisfying to themselves and which do not harm others.

Dr. Sapirstein says in his next paragraph:

> This undoubtedly, in the long run, will have a rather anxiety-producing effect. For no one individual can be *all* things, and each individual can and must work out a way of life which is in tune with his own background, his own family structure, and his own society.

Who has demanded that any individual be all sexual things to himself or to others? Economic systems and religions differ widely in different parts of the world, but no one reasons that every American should therefore simultaneously follow all economic systems and all religions.

More important is Dr. Sapirstein's implication—in agreement with Dr. Mead's quoted statement—that the publication of sex truths may produce anxiety in individuals in our culture who have not been accustomed to accept such truths. This is a dangerous, anti-scientific, freedom-destroying assumption. It is essentially the doctrine that has motivated all anti-democratic regimes, from the Inquisition to modern totalitarian states. If it were ever consistently applied, any fact which failed to support the existing *mores* of any culture—whatever they might be—would automatically be branded "anxiety-producing," or "non-Aryan," or "unpatriotic," or

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what you will. And any falsehood, presumably, that supported existing mores would be considered "good" and "true."

It is especially surprising to hear this doctrine expounded by psychoanalytically oriented writers like Drs. Sapirstein and Mead, since the very essence of analytic philosophy is the idea that the individual becomes disturbed just because he refuses to face the facts of life and insists on setting up neurotic defenses against supposedly harsh reality. Psychoanalytic therapy basically seeks to enable the disturbed patient to reconstruct his views and attitudes so that he can accept a fact as a fact and also accept himself, with his hostile, sexual, and "bad" impulses as well as his friendly, non-sexual, and "good" ones. Proponents of psychoanalysis, therefore, should welcome research which tries to get to the bottom of sexual reality, harsh as this reality may seem to our culturally biased eyes. If our sex *mores* must be upheld at the cost of suppressing biological and anthropological knowledge, or interpreting it in an emasculated manner, neurosis—as Freud would have been the first to insist—will continue to be widespread, and sexual progress will be minimal.

Dr. Sapirstein concludes:

> The fact that isolated individuals cannot attain the "normal" for their own society is in many ways pathetic and we certainly should be tolerant of them, but this still does not justify a massive attack against the established practices of the larger elements of the community. We shall always need guideposts for each individual society, whether all the travelers along the road desire to follow the road map or not.

This is true to some extent. But also true are these facts: (1) In our society, as the Kinsey Report and other studies have shown, "the established practices of the larger elements of the community" are often actually opposed to our sex *mores*. Writers like Drs. Sapirstein and Mead are objecting, in effect, to people discovering that several of the so-called "majority" sex practices—such as premarital virginity and marital fidelity—are fast becoming minority ones, and that the "established" sex *mores* are often largely the abolished ones. (2) While each individual society will always need some social guideposts, it is most unlikely that the particular sexual guideposts which at present exist in our own society will always be needed. (3) Whether we like it or not, our sexual guideposts are continually changing. (4) That we now make use of a set of sexual guideposts hardly proves that it is a perfect or even a good set. (5) Our contemporary guideposts are not, as Dr. Sapirstein implies, consistent, steady, and invariant. On the contrary, as Albert Ellis showed in his recent study, "The Folklore of Sex," our sexual *mores* are so contradictory and confusing that the individual in our society does not have one sex code which he can easily follow but a number of conflicting codes which are almost certain to get him into continual difficulty with himself and others. (6) Probably the best and quickest way to establish consistent, workable, and anxiety-reducing sexual guideposts in our culture would be to have many more research projects like those being planned and executed by Kinsey and his associates and by Ford and Beach.

In other words, the more fully we accept the fact—as conclusively revealed by modern biological, psychological, sociological, and anthropological findings—that sex practices and beliefs vary widely in different cultures and species, the more likely we are to evolve eventually a set of sex *mores* that will serve as better guideposts than the system we have passively inherited from our non-research-minded forbears.

Hindering the Search for Morality

BY MILTON R. SAPIRSTEIN

I FIND the foregoing defense of the scientific works of Kinsey, Ford and Beach, and others quite appropriate. I wish Messrs. Ellis and Cory could defend "The Homosexual in America" with equal vigor. For, after all, my review in an earlier issue of *The Nation* was primarily concerned with that book.

I am now being challenged on the extension of my comments, in which I questioned the limited point of view of other sexual studies published in recent years. Although I have many reservations about those volumes, I would agree that they are honest studies by reputable workers. They need no defense from Cory and Ellis, and I am quite prepared to accept them in terms of factual, statistical, or biological data. Independent of their sociological and psychiatric implications, their intrinsic merit is not relevant to our discussion.

For the basic problem still remains. Whether we agree or disagree with Kinsey, Ford, Beach, Ellis, and Mead, whether we like their method of presentation or not, Donald Webster Cory still uses them for his own special purpose. In contrast to the more serious workers, Cory has a special ax to grind. He uses them to surround his own slanted view with an air of authenticity.

MILTON R. SAPIRSTEIN is a practicing psychoanalyst and the author of "Emotional Security."

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Our society is in a state of flux, and no honest worker can fail to observe the constantly changing sexual patterns. At the same time every clinical observer is struck by the sincere attempts of most people to distil some healthy values out of the present chaotic situation. Young people are desperately searching for a new kind of morality—a monogamy which "works," built around a healthy relation to children and to the world. I think most of them are succeeding better than their parents.

Within this fragile framework Mr. Cory comes along to promote the advantages of homosexuality. He quotes the best authorities—many of them leave themselves wide open to this type of confusion—and defends their points of view in the hope that he can thus prop up his own dramatization of an unhealthy form of sexual adaptation. Frankly I am intolerant of any such maneuver, and of the authorities who lend themselves to it. We still have relatively wide zones of healthy sexuality, even in our fluctuating society, and no useful purpose is served by emphasizing the fact that distortions, or what is viewed as distortions in our society, are accepted in other cultures, other species of animals, or other eras.

How Free Is Canada's Air?

BY HENRY MONTCALM

Montreal

RECENT attacks on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation for so-called anti-religious broadcasts have raised the question whether freedom of speech is possible on the air. The row began last June, over six lectures by the British physicist Fred Hoyle, rebroadcast from the BBC, which have been published in *Harper's Magazine* and in book form. In the final lecture Hoyle said that in his opinion "what the Christians offer is an eternity of frustration." R. W. Keyserlingk, a Baltic German converted to Catholicism in Canada, editor of the *Ensign*, a Catholic weekly, led off with protests to Prime Minister St. Laurent. The Prime Minister replied that he thought the series undesirable but would not interfere, as indeed he had no right to do, since the CBC is responsible only to Parliament.

In September came a series of talks by four notable psychiatrists, including Dr. Brock Chisholm, head of the World Health Organization, and Dr. Ewen Cameron, president-elect of the American Psychiatric Society. Taking as their subject "Man's Last Enemy, Himself," they discussed the possibility of bringing up children free of hatred. This series was followed by six talks by Bertrand Russell on "Living in an Atomic Age."

Then the free-for-all started. The Jesuit monthly, *Relations*, thundered against Dr. Cameron's "soulless and godless utterances." Bertrand Russell was called a proponent of "animal unrestraint." An Ontario prelate said Russell "oozed the deadly pus of hell." On the other side, B. K. Sandwell, retired editor of the influential weekly *Saturday Night*, declared that religious people must not be distressed by speakers who asked them to believe some other faith than their own, or none at all: obviously, a rule against such exhortations would bar practically all church broadcasting. The United Church of Canada tentatively backed the *Ensign*; the Anglicans merely asked for time to answer the broadcast. The Benedictine Fathers' weekly remarked that no Christian need fear attacks on spurious religion.

Letters to the CBC were overwhelmingly favorable. *Maclean's Magazine* and most newspapers upheld CBC policy. A Tory M. P. told Parliament that if the CBC set itself up as a censor, freedom of speech would suffer a serious setback. The chairman of the CBC board tossed the question to Parliament, saying that the CBC did not try to decide what programs were good or bad for people to hear but only to make sure that all responsible points of view got expression.

The question is made more insistent by the imminence of television, over which the CBC is keeping a firm hold. Private stations will not be permitted to enter the field until the CBC itself is ready, since it believes television should be "essentially a Canadian operation carried on in the national interest." While the appropriation which the CBC requires over and above its revenue from radio licenses and commercial programs was pending in Commons, all the people with grudges wielded their shillelaghs—the private stations frantically seeking television permits, the big advertisers moaning over their amputated commercials, the true believers who want to hear only their own doctrine.

Some of the private stations are linked with companies that make radio and television sets and with big American concerns; many make a lot of money; all think they could make more if not hampered by CBC regulations. In a deeply religious country like Canada, branding a publicly owned service anti-Christian is a potent weapon.

The CBC has served Canadians for fifteen years. Reaching many places too remote to be in contact with a private station, it puts on farm forums, plays and music by Canadians, political talks on free time, and many concerts. A wide audience profits from the factual broadcasts of its International Service.

The Minister through whom the CBC reports to Parliament has said that "some things got on the air that shouldn't have." Hoyle, Chisholm, and the others thought they were talking about science. If nothing is permitted that could conceivably offend any Christian or non-Christian sect, can any scientific hypothesis be discussed? All freedom of speech will suffer if the CBC becomes "a toothless lion thrown to the Christians."

HENRY MONTCALM is the pseudonym of a Canadian journalist.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Diet and the Birth Rate

THE GEOGRAPHY OF HUNGER. By Josué de Castro. Little, Brown and Company. $4.50.

AMONG the privileges enjoyed by technically advanced nations and denied to the underdeveloped, contraception is perhaps not the first that comes to mind. But any magazine with an international circulation which publishes articles on birth control immediately receives letters from behind the papal curtain. A Nicaraguan describes efforts to feed a family of seven on a carpenter's wage; a father in Bonn can find only one basement room for his three-child family; a Quebec woman asks for her reply in a plain envelope. The conscripted parents of Asia and Africa do not know that they want contraceptives. They know that they do not want so many children, and resort to abortion and infanticide. Money and brains—not enough—are searching for the simple contraceptive.

Josué de Castro has the answer. It is meat. The sad letters can be answered. Infants need not be conceived, only to be exposed on river banks to die. Parents must eat steak, liver, eggs; drink milk. They must give up diets of rice and beans. It is not the number of children that makes the wages seem small and the meal meager; it is the meager meal that brings so many children. Hunger causes overpopulation, not vice versa. Protein is the magic contraceptive, for if people will eat properly "there will quickly come about a reduction in the exaggerated indexes of fertility," whereas the same reduction through the use of contraceptives would be disastrous. "Simply to retard the birth rate, as the neo-Malthusians advocate, would, within our contemporary economic framework, only diminish food production and thus increase starvation."

From experiments with rats Mr. de Castro has found that those fed on a high protein diet have fewer young than those deprived of proteins. He concludes, but does not prove, that this would apply to human beings. But he ignores the difference between fecundity and fertility. The rats were allowed to breed to the limit of their fecundity, so that the difference made by proteins could be measured. Fecundity is the physical possibility of reproduction; fertility what is achieved. In no known culture do women go to the limit of their fecundity, which is about thirty-seven live births. Without a control group of human breeders it cannot be told how much a meat diet, or any other single factor, reduces a normal woman's childbearing from thirty-seven to a number more in keeping with her maternal ambition.

The book contains a table showing for certain areas the birth rate and the daily consumption of animal proteins in grams. Without exception the birth rate goes down as the proteins go up, with Formosa and Sweden changing places at the end of the lists. We feel we should warn the Swedes—top for proteins, bottom for births—not to pass their plates for more meat lest they have no children at all. Fortunately we remember, though Mr. de Castro does not, that they are the most birth-control conscious of all peoples. Argentina, which has the world's highest meat consumption, has been left off the list. It does not have the world's lowest birth rate. Similarly, statements are made that monoculture of cash crops for export always leads to impoverished and dense populations, but the wheat belt of Canada, where the population is eight to the square mile, is not taken into account. Cuba is cited as proof that people who produce raw materials for export go hungry, whereas a glance at New Zealand might prove that freedom to plan parenthood has some mitigating influence.

Tables can be made correlating many factors with variations in birth rates. They are useful only if all major differences are considered and used to correct one another. A depressed status for women and poor education correspond roughly with each other and with a high birth rate. In Burma the women have equality with men, and the country, though an eighth the size of India, has only a twentieth of India's population.

The fact is that all the evils of which both the family planners and De Castro complain go together and cannot be cured unless advance is made on all fronts. Feudalism, colonialism, indifference to science he deplores. These occur in the very countries which forbid birth control. He asks freedom for nutritionists and biologists to put human happiness before money interests. The same spirit of enlightenment would not withhold from parents the right to plan their families. He writes that birth-control advocates offer "as our only salvation a forced reduction in the world's birth rate." But birth control is the opposite of force; it offers a choice. It is those who illegalize birth control who use force.

On nutrition the book is excellent, and the author's humanity is obvious, but though the fact of overpopulation is of the essence of his book he always becomes emotional on the subject of birth control. He shies away from it. He cannot see it as a weapon, along with so many others he readily accepts, for the individual's control of his destiny. And here William Vogt, author of "Road to Survival" and advocate of birth control, has some chickens coming home to roost.

Throughout "The Geography of Hunger" runs a growl of rage against the derogatory treatment of un-American peoples in Vogt's book. There are eleven references to Vogt and his book in the index, and the last pages are shrill against him. De Castro picks out with proper scorn Vogt's references to the Indians making sex play their national sport—not of itself an insult but since it was coupled with a remark about their breeding like codfish it must have been meant as one. In a passage of impressive wrath that reminds us that he is a poet and a creative writer as well as a scientist, De Castro defends the Indians and their culture from the "egregious" Mr. Vogt. But he should remember that the Indians have requested the World Health Organization for help with a program of birth

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control. It is part of their plan of advancement for their country. They take the vaccines, jeeps, and engineers of the country of their detractor. Why should they cut off their noses to spite their faces by refusing America's sterile-period charts and spermicidal jellies? They are too grown up for that.

BARBARA CADBURY

The Factual Melville

HERMAN MELVILLE: A BIOGRAPHY. By Leon Howard. University of California Press. $5.

THIS biography of Melville is a companion piece to Jay Leyda's recently published "Melville Log." The "Log" presents the whole body of documentary knowledge now available about the author of "Moby Dick," and Mr. Howard's biography, written, we are told, almost in collaboration with Leyda, presents in sober narrative form the copious part of this knowledge which Mr. Howard thinks proper to the subject. Like the "Log," Howard's biography is an important contribution to the current attempt in Melville scholarship to put the man and his work in the solidest possible context of fact. As a factual reference work, written on the whole with a minimum but genuine literary competence, this biography will long be of value to the reader of Melville. No previous biography comes anywhere near it, of course, for accuracy and completeness.

I have some complaints about the author's attempts at intellectual history and "criticism," and they are quickly stated. In a by now time-honored scholarly tradition Melville is here presented as if he were a kind of puzzled sophomore worrying throughout his life about such matters as "the problem of knowledge" and feeling sad when this or that epistemological or metaphysical question seemed unanswerable. The reader gets little sense that Melville, as an artist-thinker, also wrestled with problems having to do with art and myth.

Nor does one get a really firm sense that Melville was an *American* writer. One is sometimes led to feel that a bookish Afghan might just as easily have written "Moby Dick" as anyone else, provided he had read Carlyle and certain books on whaling. It would be pleasant to report that where Mr. Howard departs at all from his sober, factual biographical account, he has leaned a little toward a cultural and psychological approach, formidable as the pitfalls of this approach admittedly are. But in sticking so resolutely to an abstract and schematized method, he comes up, in the realm of ideas and artistic values, with a remarkably abstract Melville. And this despite the fact that his preface announces, in language I find uncomfortably close to that of the human-relations expert, an intention to restore "the human element" to Melville studies.

It is a pity that Mr. Howard did not throw the last pages of his book, wherein he essays an act of criticism, into the wastebasket while they were still in manuscript. The virtues of his kind of scholarly writing are patient attention to the fact, common sense, judiciousness, modesty, and urbanity. Why, then, in speaking of Melville critics of whom he disapproves does the author suddenly emulate the violent tones of darkest philistia? Is it quite proper for a serious writer, presumably committed to the high Montaignesque virtues, to imply that everyone with whom he disagrees is neurotic or to use the word "intellectual" in a uniformly pejorative sense? A spirited, even a vituperative, polemic is one thing, but the awkward assault of the outraged conventionalist is another. Thus one can only deplore the contemptuous references to D. H. Lawrence as an "English novelist who longed to lose himself in the Freudian Id" and to another critic of Melville as "the college professor who fancied himself an intellectual radical."

Mr. Howard has no scruples about comparing himself with God; for, after all, who but God has a right to claim so much omniscience as does this writer in summing up the work of other writers: "The pool seems to be inexhaustible. As the reflections of one critical group drain off, the waters, without a disturbing ripple, give forth those of another." Mr. Howard remains; the many change and pass. This is all a bit ironical in view of the fact that if it had not been for the critics, Mr. Howard would never have heard of Herman Melville or, if he had, would regard him as an obscure writer who turned

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out some third-rate sea stories with titles difficult to recall.

Perhaps we may assume that the biographer has merely gone beyond his competence in these last pages, that he has no real ill-will but genuinely understands "criticism" to be that which goes on when, for example, one accuses others of indulging in "intellectual gyrations of ecstasy." As for "intellectual gyrations of ecstasy," these are interesting but inconceivable. Presumably Mr. Howard should have written "ecstatic gyrations of intellect," if he was to insist on the image at all. Yet I fear he has the stubborn conviction that in "criticism" it doesn't matter *what* you say. If so, it is all the more regrettable that he should have tried it.

RICHARD CHASE

The Lore of Islam

THE PORTABLE ARABIAN NIGHTS. Edited, and with an Introduction, by Joseph Campbell. The Viking Press. $2.50.

THE robust youth of the civilization we call Islam flourished during and after the eighth century, and about the Bagdad court of Harun-al-Rashid and his successors. But by the fourteenth century the Tartars had come and the caliphate was overthrown. Nostalgia for a glorious past had set in; legends came into flower; and gradually, by the anonymous art of the public tale-teller, they found their way into the framework image of the witty girl who distracted a surly emperor by retelling them for 1,001 nights. They were translated into French as early as 1717, but the first unexpurgated English version, by John Payne, had to wait until 1881, and even then only 500 copies were printed. Richard Burton's popular adaptation followed, and has remained the standard English text until now, when thanks to Joseph Campbell's portable edition, the palm has been rightfully handed back to Payne.

Excepting possibly "Finnegans Wake" —to whose intentions, at least, almost anything can be ascribed—we have nothing in English, nor as far as I know in any Western literature, which can quite compare with these 264 stories. The Arthurian romances and the Nibelungenlied preserve in something of the same manner a people's wishful-thinking myths, but they lack the abounding variety of the "Arabian Nights." Actually, as Gide once suggested, the one comparable book is the Old Testament. Only there can we find the same range of subject and detail, the same pandemic focus on an entire culture, from its kings to its slaves, its economics to its housekeeping. On the other hand, we miss in the Old Testament the unique Oriental laughter, that sage capacity for taking oneself at once gravely and lightly which is the fundamental point of view in the "Arabian Nights," and which enables its stories to behold the human creature so comprehensively—juxtaposing his grandeur and his triviality, his honor and his deceit, his fears and his sex, with such truth and ease. Our European novelists have called for such a greater reality; yet how many of them have shown the mature, unlaborious grasp of man's goings-on to describe, for instance, a crucial robbery being forestalled because someone got up in the middle of the night to visit the bathroom? Life, in these stories, is seen more wholly than it has been in any of the greatest novels to come after them.

That so multifarious a book has become, as it has here in the West, chiefly synonymous with hoochy-coochy and flying carpets, is one more measure of our provinciality. For the truth is, though we make much of reading Toynbee and taking epochs for granted, we are as narrow-minded a culture as has ever existed. Our thinking presumes we are the be-all heirs of mankind's first five thousand years, but we have not begun to claim, or respect, our world heritage. India, for most of us, is still a place where a technicolor movie may be filmed to advantage and new mountain-climbing records attempted. Against this "Western megalomania" Mr. Campbell's introduction brings an intemperate indictment which, I'm afraid, it would be awkward to confute. Yet, as he also reminds us, it was by listening to these stories of the "Arabian Nights" that Scheherazade's equally arrogant king realized his self-absorption; perhaps, reading them today, we will begin to wonder at how much exists around us that is not merely peripheral to our own.

ROBERT PHELPS

Books in Brief

SEARCH FOR THE SPINY BABBLER. A Naturalist's Adventure in Nepal. By S. Dillon Ripley. Houghton Mifflin. $4. An entertaining travel book by a well-known ornithologist and the Associate Curator of the Peabody Museum. Mr. Ripley, who has specialized in Asiatic birds, lists among the achievements of the expedition the rediscovery of the Babbler mentioned in his title, which was previously known from a single specimen collected more than a hundred years ago. Like most scientists, he would no doubt refuse to admit that such things are the excuses rather than the real reasons for such picturesque jaunts as his, but in this book intended for the general reader birds are only incidental to a description of the excitements and adventures of travel in one of the most remote corners of the world. Mr. Ripley does a very good job of trying to make the reader understand what it is like to travel in a region where incongruous modernities coexist with almost unimaginable conditions. Members of the ruling class cannot eat in the presence of even the American Ambassador to India when he makes his annual official visit as Minister to Nepal. Nevertheless, for twenty years an Englishman has maintained an electric plant in the capital, an official automobile

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was transported by coolies across the mountain paths, and one room in the palace is decorated with distorting mirrors brought back by a prince who had admired them at Vauxhall.

THE BIDOU INHERITANCE. By Edith de Born. Norton. $3. The life and loves of a provincial French girl, daughter of a brilliantly drawn shopkeeper who is surely one of the most memorable characters in recent fiction. Strongly reminiscent not only of Gide —Mme de Born's obvious master—but also of the Flaubert of "Madame Bovary," this mature first novel has a directness and simplicity that are refreshing in themselves and should lead us to expect further good things from the author, who is trilingual and writes excellent English.

THE WAGES OF FEAR. By Georges Arnaud. Translated by Norman Dale. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3. A hair-raising story about two outcasts, one a coward and the other a hero, who volunteer for a sizable bonus to drive a truck loaded with nitroglycerine across Guatemala. The tension, deriving from the young French author's remarkably crisp and vivid narration, is dissipated by a trick ending; but this is still one of the most exciting stories of the year, and a natural for a good adventure movie.

THE DUKE OF GALLODORO. By Aubrey Menen. Scribner's. $2.75. By his earlier novels—notably by "The Prevalence of Witches"—Mr. Menen gained a considerable reputation as a witty and impudent writer. But in this leisurely story about a group of odd characters in a lazy Italian village the wit sparkles all too intermittently, and not enough happens to the people—who are out of Norman Douglas by way of Evelyn Waugh—to make things worth while.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF FEAR. By Robert Ardrey. Random House. $3. A story of hunter and hunted on an isolated primitive island controlled by a mythical police state, by the author of the memorable play and movie, "Thunder Rock." Mr. Ardey's over-ripe and romantic prose considerably weakens the effectiveness of his otherwise classic

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chase, softening the outlines of a parable of political morality that would have been better served with harsh matter-of-factness. Despite some keen insights into the totalitarian mind and a tolerably tense situation, this novel reads like an early draft of what might have been a genuinely unusual and original book.

CORRECTION: In his art column last week Manny Farber stated that James N. Rosenberg "spent a year in the Holy Land." Mr. Rosenberg actually spent about three weeks in Israel.

CONTRIBUTORS

BARBARA CADBURY has seen both extremes of the population situation, having emigrated from England to Saskatchewan. While temporarily resident in New York she is assisting the International Committee for Planned Parenthood with the publication of their *News of Population and Birth Control.*

RICHARD CHASE, a member of the English Department at Columbia University, is the author of "Quest for Myth," "Herman Melville: A Critical Study," and "Emily Dickinson," in the American Men of Letters Series.

ROBERT PHELPS contributes to various magazines, including the *New Republic* and the *Progressive.*

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

MRS. McTHING" (Martin Beck Theater) is a "fantasie for children of all ages" by Mary Chase, the author of "Harvey." Presented by ANTA for a limited engagement, it has already settled down for an extended run, and simple decency demands that the present reviewer should confess first of all that he enjoyed every minute of it—partly because Helen Hayes gives a stunning performance in the leading role, partly also because the various contrivances which keep it going are the product of an extraordinarily ingenious talent. Unfortunately, however, this is not the whole story. Frankness requires one to add that the whole is also completely synthetic and less a "fantasie" in the dignified sense of that term than what is now commonly called "a gimmick."

The fearfully elaborate story has to do with an over-protected only child who is transported by witchcraft into the world of his dreams, where he is adopted into a mob of comic-book gangsters with whom his mother, set out in search of him, also becomes hopelessly involved. There is something doing every minute, and that something is nearly always unexpected and also nearly always amusing. Grant not only Helen Hayes's superb restrainedly comic performance but also two wholly delightful child actors, Brandon De Wilde and Lydia Reed, and it is difficult not to seem churlish if one refuses simply to say "Great fun" and to let it go at that. But since the piece is certain to be widely discussed and variously estimated, some reservations ought to be made.

Second thoughts are certain to suggest that a great many of the devices and methods of "Mrs. McThing" are unblushingly derivative. That the general scheme is taken directly from "Peter Pan" is almost too obvious to be mentioned, and Miss Chase's indebtedness remains embarrassingly heavy even though her whole tone is different enough from Barrie's. But the borrowings by no means stop there. The gangster-chef who prefers an imaginary piano to the frying pan and refuses to serve customers unless the sound of their names pleases his ear is a Saroyan character if I ever met one. Moreover, the three aging spinsters who call on Mrs. McThing in real life are straight out of "The Mad Woman of Chaillot." And if one asks how on earth a mixture of Barrie, Saroyan, and Giraudoux can be made to jell, the answer is simply that it can't but that what the imagination cannot unify mechanical ingenuity can assemble into a workable gadget—which is exactly what the author has succeeded in doing. Reports have it that endless tinkering has been done with the script, and the efforts of the tinkerers have been unusually successful. But the triumph is a triumph of mechanical ingenuity, not of creative imagination. The best moments are like that at the end of the second act when the mother, who has so far remained outside the bewitched circle, is suddenly sucked into it by a surprising and ingenious device; the poorest are those—and there are many—when something is said or something is made to happen for no reason at all except that it promises to be momentarily diverting.

Wherever the action is controlled by the fundamental premise that the bewitched world is simply the world of a naive imagination fed on comic books, the piece maintains a consistency of tone. But a good part of the time it seems to be uncertain what its premises

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are or what style of unreality it is attempting to maintain. Before the mother is bewitched she seems to be conceived in terms of slightly farcical realism just inside the limits of believability. Yet when the three Mad Women enter they bring with them an entirely incongruous sort of extravagance which requires a complete readjustment of mood; and things like that happen so frequently that the spectator, giving up all hope of ever knowing for long what sort of world he is in, is compelled simply to settle down to the rather elementary pleasures of continuous novelty and surprise. It is one thing to be asked to suspend one's disbelief, but it is another never to know from one moment to the next what premises one is going to be called upon to accept.

All the actors seem to be having a wonderful time, and several besides those already mentioned make their roles amusing in themselves, even though the script fails to establish for the group much connection with any pervading style. Enid Markey's Mad Woman is hilarious though you can't image her in Miss Hayes's house, and the mobsters, headed by Jules Munshin as Poison Joe, are almost equally diverting if perhaps a little over exuberant. And as usual Helen Hayes dominates the stage without ever seeming to be aware of the fact that she is the star.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

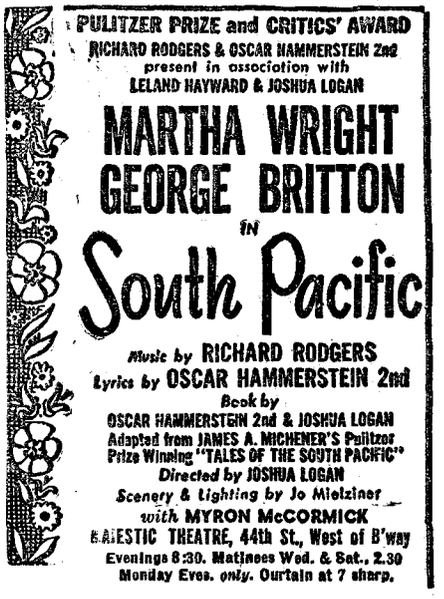
ATTACKING the widely accepted idea of the silliness of the libretto of "Così Fan Tutte," the great English critic W. J. Turner asks, in his book on Mozart:

> How has Mozart treated this plot? That is the vital question. Has he written for it charming and superficial music such as would justify the interpretation of those who declare it frivolous and artificial—in the sense of being unreal . . . ? Far from it! He has written for this opera the most tender, poignant, intensely dramatic and powerful music of which he was capable. He has made every character real, pulsing with life, and has given to each one all the emotions proper to such experiences as young love, the anguish of separation, the horror of infidelity, the ruthlessness of nature, the unexpectedness of one's own natural behavior, the tortures of jealousy, and the differences in human characters even when fundamentally they are subject to the same iron laws of nature. In short, "Così Fan Tutte" is a tragi-comedy and the most profound and terrifying work of its kind that has ever been written.

From this I think it possible to guess what Turner would have thought of the performance of "Così" that I attended at the Metropolitan. A man for whom the music was the key to the nature of the work would, I think, have regarded what happened to the music as the touchstone of the quality of the performance. That means, for one thing, how the music was sung and played; and while I cannot know for certain what Turner would have thought, it is possible that he too would have been disturbed by the lack of sensuous warmth and ease in Tucker's singing, but would have found Guarrera, Thebom, Munsel, and Alvary and the orchestra under Erede acceptable, and would have felt that the musical performance reached greatness in the lustrous beauty and grandeur of style of Steber's singing. But what happened to the music would, I think, have been for Turner more than just how it was sung and played: his conviction of the central importance of the music would have led him to object to anything which drew the listener's attention away from it; and his conviction about its meaning would have led him to object to anything which falsified it. I am sure, therefore, that he would have objected to a performance which had the listener straining to hear the English words and as a result not hearing the music they were being sung to (a writer I know who had heard one of the performances remarked: "There was this wonderful music; and you found yourself missing it because you were trying to hear the words—those silly words of the translation."). And I am sure Turner would have objected to a performance which had the singers clowning for laughs during some of the passages of tender, poignant music—a performance, that is, which changed profound tragi-comedy to trivial farce.

This falsification was the predictable result of the initial decision to use English. The English words were to make the comedy intelligible; this, as always, led to the use of English words—e. g., present-day colloquialisms—to make the comedy funnier; then the words weren't funny enough and clowning was added.

Which is to say that the lapse of taste was the predictable result of the lapse of intelligence. I remarked last year on the fact that Mr. Bing, who in so many instances had thought his own way to new decisions with his own keen intelligence and judgment for the purpose, seemed to have accepted the contentions of the opera-in-English cult without any thought of how they were contradicted by the realities of the situation. The contentions are that the audience must get its knowledge of what an opera is about directly from the performance without preliminary reading of a libretto, that in the particular case of a Mozart comedy the audience must be able to follow the words in which the humorous points are made, that for these purposes English must be used in a performance for an American audience as German is used for the audience in Vienna, and that if it isn't used the public won't come to hear the opera. But actually in a theater the size of the Metropolitan the audience can't hear enough of the English words to get the knowledge its needs directly and solely from the performance, but has to read a libretto before the performance in English just as the Viennese reads one before the performance in German; and since advance reading has to be done it should be done for a performance in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Italian which has these advantages: that the words fit Mozart's music perfectly and add their delightful sound to it; and that the following of the play is then not a straining to discover what one doesn't know but an easy recognition of what one already knows, which doesn't distract one's attention from the music. Actually, too, for many years the performances of "Don Giovanni" and "Figaro" in Italian have filled the Metropolitan with people who have known enough about what was happening on the stage to smile, laugh, and applaud enthusiastically, providing no justification for Mr. Bing to fear that "Così" in Italian would keep the public away or cause it to sit stony-faced and silent. And actually the Metropolitan has begun to give Mozart's operas in English after the Vienna Opera has begun to give them in Italian.

One notable feature of the performance remains to be mentioned—the fact that Alfred Lunt's direction prescribed the singers' every movement, gesture, and position. What he prescribed in this particular opera could be objected to; but the method is the correct one for opera, and his use of it in "Così" is an innovation of the highest value that should be made permanent at the Metropolitan.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Less Light in Darkest Africa

Dear Sirs: I was sorry to see no report in the press of the unexpected and almost simultaneous disappearance of the last two liberal and progressive journals in South Africa, the weekly *Forum* and the monthly *Common Sense*. Both journals, one thirteen years old and the other twelve, pleaded financial hardship. But in the light of its past attitude toward the press it would be interesting to know what part, if any, the Nationalist government played in the suspension of the two periodicals.

The Nationalist government is hardly a disinterested party where the freedom of the press is concerned. It was the considered opinion of the Rand *Daily Mail* that "from the day they took office it has been obvious that the Nationalists would sooner or later have to try to control the press," because "a free press is a perpetual menace to them."

Not long ago an attempt was made to suborn civil liberty by striking at the *Guardian*. The *Cape Times* foresaw a state of affairs in South Africa without precedent in the West, "the closing down of a newspaper by governmental edict, with the say of the courts of law categorically excluded." The *Guardian's* editor, B. P. Bunting, reported in London recently that his magazine's circulation had suffered from the government's hostility because people were afraid to be seen reading or selling it. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the same circumstances helped to force the *Forum* and *Common Sense* off the stands.

London, England C. C. ARONSFELD

The British Pull Out

Dear Sirs: On visiting the port of Massawa in Ethiopia recently I was horrified to discover that the British authorities were systematically destroying all the buildings in the city. The buildings already wholly or largely destroyed or totally dismantled include the arsenal and the cement works, many of the offices of the Port Authority, and the buildings used to house the Port Authority personnel. Slated for immediate destruction are other offices and dwellings and the oil containers used for refueling ships, cars, etc. The large cranes used in loading and unloading the ships have been removed.

It is evident that if the destruction continues, the Ethiopian government, when the port is turned over to it, will find nothing but sand, a few trees, and some poor huts. It would cost millions to replace what has been wantonly destroyed.

I wish to place on record the fact that many months ago the International Ethiopian Council for Study and Report was informed that the British authorities in Eritrea were dismantling industrial plants and buildings there. A parliamentary question was asked on the point by Mr. Peter Freeman, M. P., chairman of the council. In reply, His Majesty's government stated that the only buildings demolished were unsafe or useless, and that no further destruction would take place.

The destruction at Massawa has gone far, and I fear it will go still farther if no protest is made. Do the British authorities intend to destroy the railway which brings fuel from the containers to the wharf and serves other purposes essential to the functioning of the port? Do they intend to demolish the causeway leading from the mainland to the port, and also the wharves? Is similar destruction in progress at Assab?

The dismantling and destruction of a port which the United Nations General Assembly decided should be restored to Ethiopia is an affront to the United Nations and a gross injury to a gallant ally who came to England's aid in 1940.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST,
Secretary, International Ethiopian Council for Study and Report

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Does Capitalism Cause War?

Dear Sirs: The topic of the American Friends Service Committee's spring conference, April 18-20, is Does our Economic System Lead to War? The speakers include Claire Huchet Bishop, Kenneth Boulding, A. J. Muste, Scott Nearing, and Hans Christian Sonne. The registration fee is $2.50 and should be sent to A. F. S. C., 130 Brattle Street, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts. If registration is made before April 10 overnight accommodations will be provided free to students and at minimum cost to others. RUSSELL JOHNSON

Cambridge, Mass.

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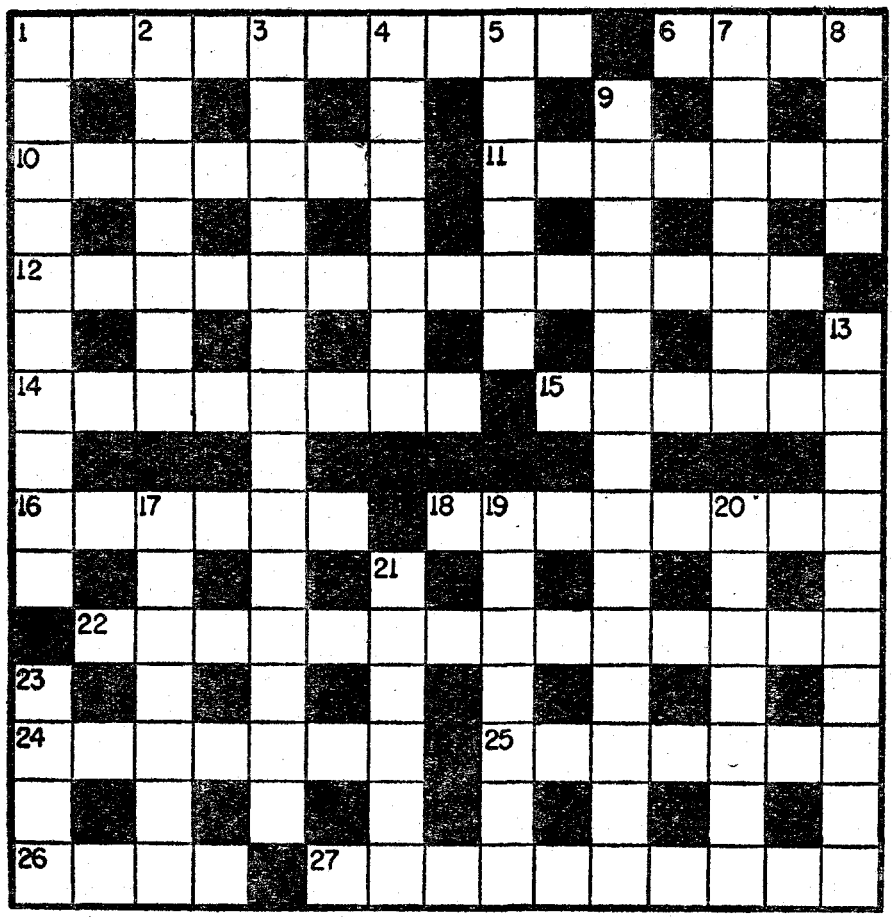
Crossword Puzzle No. 456

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Plant a lovely creature to signal the head of 16. (10)
6 The supercilious beat them back in persiflage. (4)
10 In the present, it lets itself be seen. (7)
11 When things are so beaten, do they make a lot of noise? (7)
12 Would locking the barn door after the horse had gone be an example? (Probable in all you survey!) (5, 2, 7)
14 See 8 down.
15 "Wilt thou seal up the _____s of ill?
Pay every debt, as if God wrote the bill." (Emerson) (6)
16 Its validity might depend on will power. (6)
18 Rail-birds? Bird-rails, rather (for those who prize things)! (8)
22 Not recommended in the case of theoretically fertile eggs. (14)
24 His father did some literary ghosting. (7)
25 It's obvious that this is happening around the source of instinct. (7)
26 The 2 down get this as a remainder. (4)
27 Pasture shade. (5-5)

DOWN

1 Napoleon didn't find the last part brought up the whole thing! (10)
2 Through working with a different tread? (7)
3 They change crews to maniacs, with deadly results. (5, 9)
4 Emerson implied solitude is, to the imagination. (7)
5 In conclusion. (6)
7 Used for far approaches to the end of 27. (7)
8 and 14. Show with wires and puppets? (4, 3, 5)
9 Blasphemous literature? (What's the connection with letters?) (7, 7)
13 and 17. Peter Pan Park? (10, 7)
19 Pigs or patrons? (7)
20 Deep in the heart of Texas (or Kansas). (7)
21 Look! Here's fruit to press! (6)
23 Affair seen from the distance, if not there. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 455

ACROSS:—1 BOXING MATCHES; 10 PILOT; 11 UNTENABLE; 12 REFRESHER; 13 and 2 down STAFF OF LIFE; 14 FOURFLUSHERS; 19 DECIPHERMENT; 22 RINGS; 24 CONCORDAT; 25 SURROGATE; 26 NAMED; 27 POWER POLITICS.

DOWN:—3 IN THE SOUP; 4 GAUCHERIE; 5 ASTOR; 6 CENTS; 7 EMBRACES; 8 SPARE; 9 SELFISH; 15 LEMON PEEL; 16 SUNBONNET; 17 ADDRESS; 18 SCENARIO; 20 ADAMIC; 21 STUDY; 23 STONE; 24 CLASP.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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